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JERUSALEM AND ARMENIA

Prince Vard Rshtuni the Patrician had a guilty conscience. During the wars between Iran and Byzantium at the beginning of the seventh century he had betrayed a Roman army, leading 30,000 men into an ambush prepared by the Persians. For he had promised to lead the Roman army over the river Gayl, the Lykos, and to guard the bridge; but once the Romans were on the other side he pulled down the bridge, leaving them to their fate. When he returned to his own palace in the province of Rshtunik' on the southern shore of Lake Van, Vard had a fateful dream. He was in the midst of a sea of blood; a heavy iron weight was suspended from his feet; and he was near to drowning. On waking up he confessed his crime to the bishop of Rshtunik', Gregory. The latter advised him that he still had time to save himself. A local hermit, Simeon, was summoned, and he told Vard to build churches with his many treasures throughout his province. They were to be dedicated to Saint Stephen, who had first shed his own blood in return for the saving blood of Christ. Vard numbered his castles and villages: they totalled 1,000 inhabited places. He began to build churches, while Simeon travelled to Jerusalem in order to procure a relic of St. Stephen with which the churches could be blessed. For three years Simeon performed ascetic practices at the martyrdom of the protomartyr. Then Stephen appeared in a vision to the sacristan, directing him to give Simeon a part of his holy relics. When the churches built in Armenia by Vard had been blessed with this relic, Vard saw again the vision of the sea of blood. But this time he saw as well 1,000 priests gripping his hands; the hermit Simeon cut the iron weight from his feet; and like the flight of an eagle they brought him to the fountain beside his palace. With the water from the fountain they washed away the blood from his body, dressed him in white garments, and put a crown of glory on his head. On waking from this dream, Vard distributed his treasures to the poor, and donned a hair-shirt under his clothing for the rest of his life.

This edifying tale comes from a curious work, first printed in 1921 in an incomplete version, and edited fully in 1971. Wrongly identified by its first author as the lost *History* of the ninth century Shapuh Bagratuni, it is a collection of exploits of Artsruni princes in southern Armenia to which have been prefixed three separate sections dealing with the emperors Maurice and Heraclius, and with Muhammad and the rise of Islam.¹

The story of Vard's dream is not the only reference in Armenian to hermits going
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to Jerusalem in search of relics. During the reign of Heraclius, we are informed by Moses Daskhurantsi, a certain hermit Mkhitar travelled to the holy city with two companions. After a year he obtained relics of St. Stephen and St. George. On his way back to Armenia he also acquired a relic of St. Andrew from the saint's shrine in the Taurus. Encouraged by this success, more monks went to Jerusalem, though they were distressed to see that all there were tainted by adherence to the Council of Chalcedon.² Moses Daskhurantsi then quotes a brief description of the major holy sites, which is probably the work of one of those pilgrims, the hermit Yovsep.³ Following that, Moses quotes a different source, the monk Anastas, for a short list of monasteries in Jerusalem built by Armenians and Caucasian Albanians, the *Ałuank'*. A much longer list attributed to Anastas is found in late manuscripts. A clearly tendentious work, it not only gives the names of seventy monasteries, most of them built by different Armenian noble families, but also claims that king Trdat and Saint Gregory the Illuminator collaborated with the emperor Constantine in founding the famous churches of Jerusalem.⁴

The Armenian presence in Jerusalem is not my theme. I shall be primarily concerned with the influence of Jerusalem back in Armenia and various ramifications in fantasy as well as fact. None the less, it is worth noting that there is more reliable evidence for Armenian pilgrimage than the sources just quoted. Some of the various mosaic pavements with Armenian inscriptions at Jerusalem can be dated to the sixth and seventh centuries;⁵ while Cyril of Scythopolis refers to Armenians in the holy land in the late fifth century.⁶ Armenian pilgrims on their way to Saint Catherine's monastery on Jebel Musa scratched their names in the wadis of the Sinai peninsula;⁷ and a seventh century author has left a long description of the monastery on Mount Tabor.⁸ The importance of the Armenian pilgrim traffic in Jerusalem comes out clearly from an exchange of letters between Modestos, bishop of Jerusalem, and Komitas, Catholicos of Armenia from 615 to 628, which are quoted by the historian Sebēos of the late seventh century.⁹ Modestos wrote to the Armenian patriarch following the recapture of Jerusalem after the Persian attack of 614. Referring to the Armenian pilgrims who had previously come to the holy city, Modestos tells Komitas about the restoration of the holy places, and requests his prayers and more tangible help for the holy shrines. In his reply Komitas rejoices at the peace re-established in the holy city, and describes in rhetorical terms the joy that Armenian pilgrims experienced from their journeys to Jerusalem and Mount Sinai. But there is no reference to a cash contribution.

The recovery of the True Cross by Heraclius is described in sober terms by Sebēos after this exchange of letters.¹⁰ But later Armenian tradition elaborated the role of the Armenians. The text wrongly identified as the *History* of Shapuh Bagratuni, which provided the tale of Vard Rshtuni quoted earlier, contains details of the negotiations of the emperor's envoy to the Persians.¹¹ Supposedly, the Greek noble posed as a merchant and became well known in the Persian capital. But when invited to dinner by a local dignitary he refused to eat meat, since he was in mourning for the loss of the Cross. His Persian friend showed him the room in the shah's palace where the Cross was kept. The envoy then sent word to Heraclius, who came to Persia, de-

feated the shah, and recovered the Cross from the treasury. In this expedition Heraclius was assisted by Armenian troops sent by the princess of Siunik'—'a beautiful woman and very wise, who pleased the emperor Heraclius.'

On his return from Persia, Heraclius wished to thank the Armenian princess for her support and the thousand troops who possessed four hundred suits of armour made of beaten gold.¹² She only desired a fragment of the Cross, but the emperor did not dare take a sword to cut off a piece. However, through the prayers of twelve Armenian bishops and a multitude of priests, two fragments miraculously broke away. The princess, rejoicing, went back towards Siunik'. But when she reached Hatsuwn, west of the river Araxes which marked the border of Siunik', the relics refused to proceed farther—just as the relics of John the Baptist and Athenogenes had indicated the site of the first church in Armenia to Saint Gregory the Illuminator by refusing to budge.¹³ The princess constructed a monastery to house the fragments of the True Cross. However, this Cross at Hatsuwn does not play a major role in Armenian tradition. More important was the relic of the Cross kept near Van, on Mount Varag in the land of the Artsruni princes. The most famous of these princes, Gagik, was the first Artsruni to gain royal status. He was responsible for the palace and royal church dedicated to the Holy Cross on the island of Allt'amar in Lake Van. And more interesting for our immediate purpose, his other church building on the mainland was carried out in deliberate imitation of certain sites in Jerusalem.

The Cross of Varag brings us back to Vard the Patrician; for it was in his days, according to Pseudo-Shaphuh, that the Holy Cross was revealed on the mountain of Varag.¹⁴ But the origin of this relic of the Cross takes us back even earlier. That the True Cross had been discovered in Jerusalem by Helen, mother of Constantine, was known in Armenia. Lazar, for example, writing about the year 500, gives a brief account.¹⁵ But in the Armenian rewriting of the story of Addai and the conversion of Abgar of Edessa, the discovery of the Cross by Patronice, wife of the emperor Claudius, figures prominently.¹⁶ Naturally later writers combine details of the two accounts.¹⁷ More interestingly, however, an Armenian connection is introduced in a text ascribed to the mysterious historian Moses Khorenatsi. Earlier Agathangelos had described the conversion of king Trdat to Christianity, linking the conversion to the martyrdom of Rhipsimē and her companions; these were pious nuns who fled from Diocletian in Rome to Armenia. The text ascribed to Moses Khorenatsi, but certainly not by the author of the famous *History* and of later date, explains that Agathangelos was unable to include all the details of Rhipsimē's earlier career, so he fills in some gaps.¹⁸ Since she was of royal descent, Rhipsimē had inherited from her ancestor Patronice a fragment of the Cross which the empress had found in Jerusalem. This she wore suspended from her neck. On their flight from Rome to Armenia, Rhipsimē and her companions had time to visit all the sites in Jerusalem as well as Edessa. The nuns then wandered on through many regions of Armenia, and two accompanying priests remained at Varag, where the saints had left the relic. After the martyrdom of Rhipsimē the relic was forgotten until the days of Vard.

This Cross of Varag figures prominently in the *History of the Artsruni House* by Thomas Artsruni.¹⁹ But before discussing such later texts we should return to the

earlier period to see how Jerusalem was regarded not just as a source of holy objects but as a source of authoritative teaching.

In this regard it is most surprising that contemporary sources entirely disregard Jerusalem when discussing the origins of the texts translated into Armenian after the invention of the Armenian script. Describing that momentous invention by Mashtots, the latter's pupil Koriun gives some details about the journeys he and others made to Edessa, Melitene or Constantinople in search of Greek and Syriac texts. He talks in rather vague terms about the bible, the church fathers, and the canons of Nicaea and Ephesus. But there is no reference to any liturgical texts, which were for the fledgling church at least as important as homilies by John Chrysostom.²⁰ The importance of the ritual of Jerusalem, in particular the lectionary, for Armenia has been carefully documented in recent decades.²¹ But one would never guess that Jerusalem had any significance for the development of fifth century Armenian practice by reading the classic historians' descriptions of Mashtots' work.²²

The later tenth century Moses Daskhurantsi, whose interest in pilgrims to Jerusalem we have already noted, does claim that Mashtots visited the holy city and brought back a relic of the True Cross. But his version of Mashtots' activity is full of unsubstantiated details designed to cast lustre on the region of the *Akuank*; little credence can be given to this tale or to the claim that Mashtots' disciples also supposedly visited Jerusalem in search of a spiritual leader after Mashtots' death.²³

Nor in colophons—for like the Syrians, Armenian scribes were fond of adding circumstantial details to manuscripts—do we find many references to Jerusalem as a centre for the translation or copying of texts.²⁴ However, Nersēs Akinean once wrote of a 'Jerusalem school,' and since then (i.e. 1932) writers have enlarged this into a fifth century scriptorium.²⁵ Now by the term 'school (*dprots*)' Akinean was referring to certain stylistic traits that he associated with texts of a liturgical or hagiographical type. There is one colophon in a manuscript dated to 1403 that contains the Armenian version of Athanasius' *Life of Antony* which refers to Jerusalem. It says: 'This book was translated in the holy city of Jerusalem in the year 450 of the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the year when the blessed Mashtots died.'²⁶ There are problems with this. Mashtots died in 439 or 440. Therefore Akinean proposed emending Mashtots to Hesychius—which is a little more plausible in Armenian than in English. The dating from the year of the coming of the Lord is unusual in Armenian, but by no means unprecedented.²⁷

Akinean's only other evidence for an actual scriptorium in Jerusalem is an undated medieval text containing a medley of information on religious and philosophical matters, such as the names of the seventy-two apostles, or the names of the wives of the twelve. One section deals with the translation of various rituals. It claims that the ritual of the benediction of the water (i.e., on Epiphany) was composed by Basil of Caesarea in Jerusalem. The Armenian patriarch Sahak (the supporter of Mashtots) had sent a certain Khosrov the translator (*t'argmanich*) to Jerusalem, where he came across the text of Basil's and brought it back to Armenia.²⁸ Now a Khosrovik 'the translator' is a known figure of Armenian literature. Interested in liturgical matters, he attacked the Greek celebration of Christmas on December 25th instead of

January 6th, and in general opposed the Chalcedonians. He lived in the eighth century, not the fifth.

The only plausible evidence for a fifth century Armenian scriptorium in Jerusalem is thus the fifteenth century colophon claiming that the *Life of Antony* was translated in the holy city. Not until the ninth century does another colophon indicate that another text—in this case the *Autobiography* of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite—was translated in Jerusalem.³⁰ Nor do colophons refer to early copying of manuscripts there by Armenians. Of course, thousands of manuscripts have been destroyed; and only fragments survive from the early centuries. But the lack of references in all other sources to copying of manuscripts at Jerusalem tends to confirm that this was not a significant activity.

However, Jerusalem as a centre of authoritative teaching does emerge once the Armenians found themselves in conflict with Greeks and Georgians over questions of faith and ritual. Cyril of Scythopolis notes in his *Life of Saint Sabas* that theological differences caused problems at the beginning of the sixth century.

Ch. 32: 'In the year 501 Saint Sabas moved the Armenians from the small chapel to the large church (which had just been built) so that they could celebrate the canonical office in their own tongue. He recommended that they say separately in Armenian the readings from the gospels and the rest of the office, but that they join the others who spoke Greek at the moment of the communion. However, when some of the Armenians began to sing the *Trisagion* with the addition "who was crucified for us" that had been invented by Peter the Fuller, then the holy old man, rightly indignant, ordered them to sing this hymn in Greek according to the ancient tradition of the Catholic church and not according to the innovation of Peter, who shared the errors of Eutyches. . . . Thus Saint Sabas rejected the additions and held to ecclesiastical tradition.'

We are not here interested in the break between Armenians and Chalcedonians *per se*,³¹ but the role played by bishops of Jerusalem is certainly relevant. The best known of those bishops was certainly Cyril (350-386). His *Catecheses* were among the texts translated in the fifth century. (That the five Mystagogical treatises were included is unlikely, though some of these were known indirectly.)³² The influence of the *Catecheses* is discernible in the composition known as the *Teaching of Saint Gregory*, which takes the form of a long sermon—supposedly lasting sixty-six days—preached to king Trdat before his baptism.³³ But Cyril of Jerusalem is not quoted by Armenian authors very often. In his *Letter* of self-justification the historian Lazar mentions him in passing with other famous fathers of the church.³⁴ The sixth century Catholicos John II (557-574) refers to him as a castigator of heretics who confirmed the readings established by the apostles.³⁵ The later Stephen of Siunik³⁶ is more explicit in attributing those readings to James the brother of the Lord; Cyril merely professed them (*dawaneats*).³⁶

Cyril's role as a hammer of heretics is picked up in a late document of the eleventh century, which links his name more closely with Armenia. This fictitious *Life of Cyril* claims that the Armenian patriarch Nersēs the Great (who was poisoned by King

Pap in 373), had been recalled from exile by the emperor Theodosius in order to chair the council of Constantinople in 381. As co-chairmen of that council the Armenian patriarch was joined by Cyril of Jerusalem, the two Gregories of Nyssa and Nazianzen, and Meletius of Antioch.³⁷

We must reject the cooperation of Nersēs and Cyril in the struggle against Arians and other heretics. None the less, later bishops of Jerusalem did concern themselves with the Christians in Armenia, worried that they were not adhering to the straight path of orthodoxy. The *Book of Letters*, a thirteenth century compilation of official documents including letters exchanged between Armenians, Syrians, Greeks, and Georgians, contains a letter sent by Macarius of Jerusalem to Armenia. It poses certain problems.

In the *Book of Letters*, where it is not in its chronological place, and in separate copies found in later manuscripts, the letter is entitled: 'Of the blessed Macarius of the holy city of Jerusalem, canonical letter to the Armenians concerning the regulation of the rites of the Catholic church.'³⁸ It deals primarily with baptism and baptismal unction. In the text of the letter Macarius indicates that he is replying to a query from Armenia, and addresses the 'archbishop (*episkoposapet*) Vrt'anēs.' The title is common for a chief bishop or patriarch; and both P'awstos Buzand and Moses Khorenatsi refer to an *episkoposapet* Vrt'anēs—he was the son of Gregory the Illuminator, who followed his brother as third prelate of Armenia, circa 333.³⁹ If that identification is correct, Macarius would be the first bishop of that name, bishop of Jerusalem from 313 to 334. The same text is preserved in the *Kanonagirk'*, the official compilation of canon-law begun in the eighth century by the Catholicos John of Odzun.⁴⁰ There is one reference to this letter in a homily attributed to Anania. Some critics have identified that Anania with Anania of Shirak of the seventh century; others with Anania of Halbat of the eleventh century.⁴¹ It is not quoted again until the thirteenth century, in the catena known as the *Root of Faith*.⁴² Doubtful that the ritual described by Macarius dated to the early fourth century, Nersēs Akin-ean proposed that the second Macarius of Jerusalem, bishop 565-574, must be the author. Vrt'anēs would then be the bishop of the province of Siunik' circa 562-584. Now this Vrt'anēs is known from other sources, for Siunik' had withdrawn from Armenian jurisdiction in the second half of the sixth century—though the rift was later healed—and Vrt'anēs refused to join the Armenian anti-Chalcedonian party after the attempted reunion of the Armenian and Byzantine churches in 572.⁴³

That the letter was written by Macarius II to Vrt'anēs of Siunik' was accepted by the editor of the *Kanonagirk'*, the late Vazken Hakobyan. But one big stumbling block remains. Describing the rite of communion, Macarius enjoins the Armenians 'to put warm bread on the altar, according to the tradition of the apostles,' and to ensure that 'the cup is unadulterated (*anapak*), without any admixture, because we are not saved by anything corruptible but by the incorruptible (*anapakan*) body and blood of the pure and immaculate lamb.' It was not the tradition of Jerusalem to leave the wine unmixed with water. One is immediately reminded of the famous remark of the Armenian Catholicos Moses II (574-604), who was staunchly opposed to the Greek church and refused to accept attempted reunion in 591, declaring: 'I

shall not drink hot water.⁴⁴ I am not competent to pass judgment on the authenticity of the baptismal ritual. But if the letter supports the Armenian tradition of un-mixed wine at communion, one wonders if it is not a tendentious forgery rather than a lost Greek text which has been tampered with. In that case its ascription to the first Macarius and the identification of Vrt'anēs with the son of Gregory the Illuminator would be perfectly appropriate.

The hardening hostility of the Armenians to the Greek church in the second half of the sixth century elicited another letter from Jerusalem. Like that of Macarius, it is known only in Armenian. John IV, bishop of Jerusalem after Macarius II (574-94), wrote to Abas, Catholicos of the Caucasian Albanians, the Aḫuank' (552-96), urging them not to join the Armenians in rejecting the council of Chalcedon.⁴⁵ John had heard from an Aḫuan monk in Jerusalem about the Armenian decision taken at the council of Dvin in 555 — which marked the final, irrevocable stage in the separation of the Armenian church from Byzantium. He exhorts Abas to expel the Armenian heretics from monasteries in Albania, stating that the Armenians had been deceived by the Syrians — which shows some familiarity with the proceedings at Dvin.⁴⁶ He also mentions the Armenian corruption of the *Trisagion* hymn, to which Sabas had objected earlier.

This letter is interesting for its information about Armenians and Albanians in Jerusalem. Unlike the letter attributed to Macarius, it does not seem to have been doctored in a pro-Armenian fashion. And it fits into the historical situation known from other sources. For Abas was also being courted by the Armenians. The Catholicos John II wrote to him some time before 572, urging him to hold fast to the three councils and to reject the wicked doctrines of Chalcedon.⁴⁷ The collapse of the Armenian revolt against Iran in 572 brought John and various Armenian nobles to Constantinople. John died there two years later, apparently having been inveigled into accepting what he earlier rejected. But Abas of Albania received other letters from the Armenians after 572, according to the pro-Chalcedonian *Narratio de Rebus Armeniae* of the early eighth century.⁴⁸ So the letter from Jerusalem fits with the continuing effort of the anti-Chalcedonian Armenians to gain support in Caucasia. Yet it is curious that these doctrinal differences are ignored by Sebēos in the seventh century when he refers to Armenian pilgrims in Jerusalem. And he even claims that Zacharias, patriarch of Jerusalem 609-31, supported the Armenian position against Chalcedon at a convocation held at the Iranian court following the capture of Jerusalem by the Persians.⁴⁹

But by far the most frequent references to Jerusalem as the source of orthodoxy come in the correspondence exchanged between Armenian and Georgian bishops at the beginning of the seventh century. The correspondence is preserved in the *Book of Letters*, and the constant references to Jerusalem underscore the common links of Armenians, Albanians, and Georgians in the holy city and in the monasteries of Palestine. In a general document concerning the councils of the Dyophysites written in 606, bishop Moses of Tsurtavi quotes Isaiah 2.3: 'Out of Sion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.' It was that true faith of Jerusalem which Saint Gregory (the Illuminator) taught us.⁵⁰ On the Georgian side Kiwrion wrote to

the Armenian Catholicos Abraham: 'Our fathers and your fathers held the faith of Jerusalem,' and we shall cleave to it as to the sole rule of the Roman emperor.⁵¹ In response Abraham echoes the claim that 'our fathers and yours held the faith of Jerusalem,' to which we (the Armenians) shall cling, and we urge you (the Georgians) not to abandon it for alien teaching.⁵² None the less, Armenians and Georgians went their separate ways.⁵³ The only later reference to Jerusalem as the source of right teaching in the *Book of Letters* comes in a letter of Stephen of Siunik' in the early eighth century. The text has attracted attention as containing the first datable reference to the martyrdom of the apostle Bartholomew in Armenia. But Stephen was primarily concerned with rebutting the celebration of the Annunciation and the Nativity on the 25th of March and December respectively. We reject that, says Stephen, because our faith has its origin in Jerusalem, where the apostles established correct rituals.⁵⁴

But we cannot leave the Georgians without noting another connection with Jerusalem. As we noticed earlier, Armenian sources are not informative about the role of the holy city as a source of texts translated into Armenian. However, a colophon dated to 329 of the Armenian era (which began on 20th April, 880) states that the *Autobiography* of Dionysius the Areopagite was rendered into Armenian in Jerusalem by a certain John the doctor (*Yovhannēs bzhishk*), otherwise unknown.⁵⁵ The corpus of writings attributed to this elusive Dionysius had been translated in Constantinople at the beginning of the previous century.⁵⁶ But the Armenian version of his *Life* was made from a Georgian text. Not many translations were made from Georgian, though Armenians did adapt the Georgian *Chronicles*.⁵⁷ More significant is the fact that this translation was made in Jerusalem, where Armenians and Georgians could still meet. The surge of Georgian scholarly activity in the next two centuries that is associated with Iviron on Mount Athos naturally had no effect on the anti-Chalcedonian Armenians.

Jerusalem in its Christian aspect does not appear in Armenian written sources as often as one might expect. So a rare reference to the holy sites as models for Armenian churches is particularly noteworthy. I refer not to the heavenly Jerusalem or Sion on high which are prefigured in the design and decor of a church building. The image of the church as a symbol of the celestial city is common in Armenian. But the many passages which liken the dome to heaven; which see a parallel between the threefold division of sanctuary, nave and narthex with the three decks of Noah's ark; or the various interpretations of the columns, walls, stones or windows of the physical structure—none of these have direct reference to Jerusalem.⁵⁸ However, the historian Thomas Artsruni has some pertinent comments on the constructions of his patron prince Gagik.

We have already mentioned the Cross of Varag which was revealed in the days of prince Vard and whose legendary origin is connected with Patronice. Thomas Artsruni describes how Gagik embellished the reliquary containing this Cross.⁵⁹ He also gives details of the building activity of Gagik and his brother Gurgēn in southern Armenia at the very beginning of the tenth century. He describes their churches, fortresses and palaces⁶⁰—though the most famous of those descriptions, that of the

church and royal palace on Ałt'amar in Lake Van, is by a later continuator, not Thomas; and curiously, it does not mention that the church was dedicated to the Holy Cross.⁶¹

Before attaining royal status in 908 Gagik had been responsible for a complex of churches at Van. There, beneath the famous rock, he constructed a church dedicated to the holy Sion in the city of Jerusalem.⁶² To the right he built a church dedicated to the crucifixion of the Lord at Golgotha, and above it a church dedicated to the 'upper room of the mystical celebration of the transmission of the new covenant.' To the left of the main structure he built a church in commemoration of the resurrection of Christ, above which he added a church dedicated to the ascension and commemorating the second coming. The impression given by Thomas is that there was a single complex with five chapels, rather than five free-standing churches at different levels on the flank of the rock; but the text is not entirely clear. Thomas then goes on to describe Gagik's improvements to his father's constructions on the rock of Van: he added banqueting halls with verandahs, a staircase from the cistern below to the summit of the rock, and a water-tunnel from nearby Mount Varag.

I am not aware of any other text which links Armenian churches to a complex of holy sites in Jerusalem. It is, however, not irrelevant that the frescoes in Gagik's church on Ałt'amar reflect early Palestinian traditions. Nicole Thierry has shown that the depiction of Ascension and Pentecost, which are not in their normal place in the biblical cycle, is explicable by Palestinian iconography; the connection with the Second Coming is also brought out by one of the flasks of Monza on which themes of the Ascension, Pentecost, and Second Coming are combined.⁶³ This tradition elucidates a passage in Thomas's description of Gagik's churches at Van, which at first I had thought to be a garbled corruption. Describing the church dedicated to the Ascension, Thomas says: 'He built a church dedicated to the ascension to heaven and the sharing of the Father's throne, and in commemoration of the second coming, when he will come in the Father's glory with the angels *to the apostles*, bringing them the *consoling* and encouraging gospel.' Thomas has combined the ideas of Pentecost and the second coming in a rather confused way; but his description of the church which also recalled the ascension, reflects the tradition attested in Gagik's frescoes.

There was another way in which Armenians saw a connection between their country and Jerusalem. Although we now approach the realm of fantasy rather than of historical reality or even symbolic interpretation, these imaginary connections served a serious purpose. They were part of a propaganda campaign waged by the spokesmen of rival noble families anxious to demonstrate the antiquity of their patrons' origins and their early Christian faith.

For Agathangelos, who describes the conversion of king Trdat at the beginning of the fourth century, Saint Gregory the Illuminator was the first missionary to bring the Christian gospel to Armenia. But already in the fifth century the story of Addai's preaching in Edessa had been adopted by the Armenians: the Armenian version of the *Doctrine of Addai* takes him farther to the East after establishing an organized hierarchy in Edessa.⁶⁴ But the Christian community he supposedly founded in Ar-

menia was later obliterated. By the time of Moses Khorenatsi—whose date is a hotly debated question—the legends about his martyrdom and that of king Sanatruk's daughter after her father's apostasy had taken shape.⁶⁵ But no one before Moses had introduced into the story of the conversion of king Abgar of Edessa any Armenian characters. Moses, however, consistently claims a Jewish origin for his patrons, the Bagratids, though earlier tradition made them native Armenians.⁶⁶ The early Bagratids were persecuted for their faith, claims Moses, but some remained true to their Judaism.⁶⁷ One of these, called Tobias, had fled to Edessa for safety from persecution. It was in the house of Tobias that the Greek and Syriac accounts had said that the apostle Thaddaeus or Addai lodged when he came to Edessa to heal and convert King Abgar. Since Tobias was also converted, the first Armenian Christian was a Bagratid.⁶⁸

A little earlier in his *History* Moses Korenatsi had introduced an Artsruni general named Khosran. The Artsrunis had not yet attained the powerful position they reached in the ninth century, a position later justified by Thomas. Moses says that this Khosran had supported Aretas in his war against Herod. Herod's army was destroyed 'with the help of the brave Armenians,' so by divine providence the death of John the Baptist was avenged.⁶⁹

The Bagratid claim to priority as Christians was challenged by Thomas Artsruni. He claims explicitly that the general Khuran (for the name Khosran underwent various transformations) had been baptised by Thaddaeus himself in Edessa. He then adds some fanciful details about Khuran's service in Spain for the emperor Tiberius, who honoured him 'with the purple and a baton.' Having become the first Armenian field-marshal, Khuran went to settle in Jerusalem where queen Helen of Adiabene was living. Moses had already made Helen a Christian. But Thomas adds that it was Khuran Artsruni who took her gold to buy corn in Egypt during the famine that occurred in the days of the emperor Claudius. He is thus the first attested Armenian entrepreneur. Thereafter Khuran lived in Jerusalem, dying at a good old age; in the world to come he will be crowned by Christ with queen Helen among the saints.⁷⁰ An even earlier Artsruni presence in Jerusalem is claimed by Thomas, though he was not followed by later historians. When the Jews returned after the Babylonian exile, Artsruni troops escorted the sons of Israel back to Jerusalem and entrusted the leadership of the Jews to Zorobabel.⁷¹

These fanciful notions about Armenians in Jerusalem had no great impact on later Armenian tradition. Even the historically attested Armenian pilgrims do not figure very prominently in the sources. Despite their Christian orientation, the Armenian historians do not regard Jerusalem as particularly significant or its bishops as very important. Rather it is with the pre-Christian Jews that Armenian writers see parallels in the Armenian situation, and on the history of the old dispensation that they build their image of Armenian fortunes.

There is a small number of Armenian histories which became classics in the sense that they established a received picture of the Armenian past that was handed down over succeeding generations. The work of Agathangelos brought order to floating traditions about the conversion of Armenia. P'awstos Buzand set his own stamp on

the history of the fourth century, emphasizing the role of the patriarch Nersēs in establishing both orthodox belief and the pre-eminent place of the church in political and social life. Elishē interprets the fifth century revolt against the shah in terms of a struggle of the virtuous against the forces of impiety. While Moses Khorenatsi gave for the first time a picture of the development of the Armenians as a nation, and described the growth of Armenian cultural individuality down to the time of Mashtots and the beginning of a native Armenian literature. The authors of these *Histories* are all unknown—pious legends to the contrary—and the dates when they were written are debated. But that they are sophisticated literary works and that they established the received tradition down to modern times can hardly be doubted.

These histories emphasize the Christian orientation of Armenian culture. But especially in Elishē and Moses Khorenatsi, who were more influential than the others, Christian Armenia is not viewed as part of a larger whole. In Agathangelos there is the idea of an expanding Christendom which has now embraced Armenia;⁷² while P'awstos refers to Armenian missionary work in the remoter Caucasus.⁷³ But by the time of Elishē Christendom as such is remote. Martyrdom is a central theme in his *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*. But the martyrs do not die for their faith and Saviour alone, as did Rhipsimē and her companions in Agathangelos. Rather, they die for their national traditions—*hayreni awrēnk'*. This key phrase in Elishē is the theme of the Maccabees, who fought for their *patrioi nomoi*, of which *hayreni awrēnk'* is a direct translation.⁷⁴ The influence of the books of Maccabees in the early Armenian historians has been treated before, so we need not go over the ground again.⁷⁵ The importance of Elishē is that he links the idea of Christian faith indissolubly with national tradition. *Awrēnk'* can mean 'religion' or 'way of life'—or rather, these two are the same. The Armenians are not Christians fighting the Mazdaean Persians in the vanguard of Christendom. They are striving to preserve an individuality as Armenians; and if *that* individuality cannot be preserved, death is certainly preferable to life with ignominy. This is a far cry from the suggestion in Lazar P'arpet'si that it is better to live abroad under a Christian regime than to stay in Armenia but be subservient to a Zoroastrian sovereign.⁷⁶

An explicit parallel with the Maccabees is made by P'awstos, Elishē, and Moses. But Moses Khorenatsi adds a further dimension to this comparison between the Armenian nation and that of the Jews. Tracing the origin of the Armenians back to Torgom, descendant of Japheth, Moses frequently refers to his role as 'antiquarian.'⁷⁷ He is doing for Armenia what another historian had done in the *Antiquities of the Jews*.⁷⁸ Indeed, he refers to Josephus quite frequently, and was indebted to his *Jewish Wars* for his picture of Armenia between Rome and Parthia.⁷⁹ Even more explicit is Moses' declaration of intent: 'Although we are a small country and very restricted in numbers, weak in power and often subject to another's rule, yet many manly deeds have been performed in our land worthy of being recorded in writing.' This recalls, with verbal parallels in the Armenian version of Josephus' *Wars*, the latter's preface: 'They disparage the actions of the Jews. But I fail to see how the conquerors of a small people deserved to be counted great.'⁸⁰

It seems to me that the national mythology created by the early Armenian histo-

rians may account for the contrast between the real importance of Jerusalem as a centre of liturgical authority and a holy site of pilgrimage, and the lack of references to that importance in the texts. Christian Jerusalem was not very relevant to the historians as a source of Armenia's individuality. Nor were Syrian Christian influences acknowledged. Only Constantinople could not be passed over; but the Byzantine capital was regarded as the prime source of learning and scholarship, not as a source of formative tradition.⁸¹ The Greek connections of St. Gregory the Illuminator, emphasized by Agathangelos, were entirely ignored by Elishē. And although Moses Knorenatsi does mention Gregory, he says nothing of his consecration in Caesarea, but emphasizes the roles of Thaddaeus and Bartholomew in apostolic times as the founders of the Armenian church. The image created by these last two writers is of a small nation alone in the larger world, whose Christian faith is a national one. Patriotism is to adhere to ancestral traditions—though Christianity had not existed in Armenia from time immemorial—while apostasy is the rejection of those traditions. The model for a people whose faith and whose land were so intimately connected, and for whom political and religious allegiance were identical, was not that of an international Christian church.

Now although topical relevance is not a theme popular in some academic circles, I would suggest that this picture of the Armenian people has been persuasive until the present. And since Jerusalem is the theme of this paper, I would remind you of the scenes depicted in the newly refurbished Armenian section of the Holy Sepulchre. What strikes the eye is not a representation of some aspect of the Christian faith appropriate to that holy shrine, but a different picture, no less holy perhaps: Mount Ararat, the symbol of a land and an individual culture.

Notes

* I. G. Tēr-Mkrtch'ean, *Patmut'ium Shaphoy Bagratunwoy*, Ėjmiatzin 1921; M.H. Darbinyan-Melik'yan, *Patmut'ium Ananun Zrutzagri (kartzelseal Shaphuh Bagratuni)* (Erevan, 1971). The second edition contains a facing Russian translation. For the story about Vard see pp. 97–107. For the initial section dealing with Muhammad see R.W. Thomson, "Armenian Variations on the Bahira Legend," *Eucharistion, Essays presented to Omeljan Pritsak*, Harvard Ukrainian Studies, 3/4 (1979/1980) pp. 884–895; and *idem*, 'Muhammad and the Origin of Islam in Armenian literary tradition,' *Études arméniennes-In Memoriam Haig Berbérian* (forthcoming).

2. II.50. Armenian text in Movses Kalankatuatsi, *Patmut'ium Atuanits ashkharhi*, ed. V. Arak'elyan, (Erevan, 1983) pp. 280–82; English version by C.J.F. Dowsett, *The History of the Caucasian Albanians by Movses Dasxuranci*, London Oriental Series, 8 (London, 1961).

3. Moses Daskhurantsi, II.51. Cf. E.W. Brooks, 'An Armenian Visitor to Jerusalem in the Seventh Century,' *English Historical Review*, 11 (1896) pp. 93–97.

4. Moses, II.52. For a recent edition of the text attributed to Anastas with English translation and references to earlier literature see A.K. Sanjian, 'Anastas Vardapet's List of Armenian Monasteries in Seventh Century Jerusalem,' *Le Muséon*, 82 (1969) pp. 265–92.

*For an English translation of the 'History' of Pseudo-Shaphuh with Introduction see R.W. Thomson, 'The Anonymous Story-Teller [also known as 'Pseudo-Šaphuh'], *Revue des études arméniennes* 21 [1988–1989], 171–232.

5. Recent discussions with references to earlier sources in B.N. Arakelian, 'Armenian Mosaic of the Early Middle Ages,' *Atti del Primo Simposio internazionale di Arta armena* (Venice 1978) pp. 1-9; H. Evans, 'Nonclassical Sources for the Armenian Mosaic near the Damascus Gate in Jerusalem,' *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period*, ed. N.G. Garsoian, T.F. Mathews, R.W. Thomson (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982) pp. 217-22.

6. Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of Saint Sabas*, ch. 20. For a discussion of references to Armenians in Palestine at this time see K. Hindlian, *History of the Armenians in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1976); and in general, J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (London, 1977).

7. M.E. Stone, *The Armenian Inscriptions from the Sinai*, Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies, 6 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1982).

8. R.W. Thomson, 'A Seventh-Century Armenian Pilgrim on Mount Tabor,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S. 18 (1967) pp. 27-33.

9. Sebeos, *Patmut'yun*; ed. G.V. Abgaryan (Erevan, 1979) ch. 35-36. French translation in F. Maccler, *Histoire d'Héraclius* (Paris, 1904).

10. Sebeos, ch. 40.

11. *Patmut'yun Ananun Zrutzagri* (see note 1) pp. 53-61.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-67 for the story of the Cross of Hatsiwn.

13. Agathangelos (Agat'angelos), c.811. The critical Armenian text of his *Patmut'yun Hayots*, ed. G. Tēr-Mkrтч'ean and St. Kanayants (Tiflis, 1909) has been reprinted by Caravan Books, Delmar, N.Y. 1980. English translation in R.W. Thomson, *Agathangelos, History of the Armenians* (Albany, 1976).

14. *Patmut'yun Ananun Zrutzagri*, p. 107.

15. Lazar P'arpetsi, *Patmut'yun Hayots*; ed. G. Tēr-Mkrтч'ean and S. Malkhasean (Tiflis, 1904) p. 4. French translation in V. Langlois, *Collection des historiens arméniens*, II (Paris, 1869) pp. 253-368.

16. Labubna, *T'ut' Abgari* (Venice, 1868) pp. 12-16.

17. E.g. Moses Khorenatsi, II. 87. The critical Armenian edition of his *Patmut'yun Hayots*; ed. M. Abelean and S. Yatur'iwnian, Tiflis 1913, has been reprinted by Caravan Books, Delmar, N.Y. 1981. English translation in R.W. Thomson, *Moses Khorenatsi, History of the Armenians*, Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies, 4 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1978).

18. The text of the 'History of the Holy Rhpsimeants' is found in Moses Khorenatsi, *Matenagrut'iwnek'* (Venice, 1866) pp. 297-303.

19. T'ovmay vardapet Artzruni, *Patmut'yun Tann Artzrunians*; ed. K'. Patkanean (St. Petersburg, 1887). French translation (of the edition of Constantinople 1852) in M. Brosset, *Collection des historiens arméniens*, I (St. Petersburg, 1874).

20. Koriun, *Vark' Mashtotsi*; ed. M. Abelean (Erevan, 1941). English translation in B. Norehad, *The Life of Mashtots* (New York, 1964).

21. For the lectionary see A. Renoux, *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121*, *Patrologia Orientalis*, 35.1, 36.2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969, 1971).

22. I.e. Koriun, Lazar, Moses Khorenatsi.

23. Moses Daskhurantsi, I.27, 28.

24. For colophons up to 1250 see G. Yovsēp'ean, *Yishatakarank' Dze'agrats* (Antelias, Lebanon, 1951).

25. N. Akinean, *Dasakan Hayere ew Viennakan Mkhit'arean Dp'rotse* (Vienna, 1932) pp. 69-73. For the 'scriptorium' see, for example, A.K. Sanjian, *The Armenian Communities in Syria under Ottoman Dominion* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965) p. 4.

26. The colophon is printed in Akinean, *op. cit.*, p. 70; G. Zarphanalean, *Matenadaran Haykakan T'argmanut'eants Nakhneats* (Dar 4-13), (Venice, 1889) p. 286; and Yovsēp'ean, *op. cit.*, col. 1019-1020.

27. For systems of dating in Armenian manuscripts see A.K. Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 1301-1480*, Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies, 2 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1969) pp. 34-41: 'The Calendrical Systems used in the Colophons.'

28. The text was published by F.N. Finck, 'Kleinere mittelarmerische Texte,' *Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie*, 1 (1903), pp. 1-32, 97-117, 177-219, 301-52; 2 (1904) pp. 81-111. For the passage in question see pp. 218-19.

29. No Khosrov (as opposed to the diminutive form Khosrovik) was known as *t'argmanich'*. There were

several later Khosrovs, including the famous commentator on the Breviary and the Liturgy, Khosrov Andzevatsi of the tenth century.

30. See below at note 55.

31. For this see V. Inglisian, 'Chalkedon und die armenische Kirche,' *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, II; ed. A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht (Würzburg 1959) pp. 361-416; and K. Sarkissian, *The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church* (London, 1965, reprinted New York, 1975).

32. A. Renoux, 'Une version arménienne des Catéchèses mystagogiques de Cyrille de Jérusalem,' *Le Muséon*, 85 (1972) pp. 147-53. For the Armenian text of the 18 treatises delivered before baptism see Koch'umn Entzayut'ean (Venice, 1832).

33. This sermon forms the longest part of the *History* of Agathangelos (see note 13 above). For a recent study and English translation see R.W. Thomson, *The Teaching of Saint Gregory: An early Armenian Catechism*, Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies, 3 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1970).

34. Lazar, p. 192.

35. *Book of Letters* (Girk' T'lt'ots), (Tiflis, 1901) p. 88.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 325.

37. E. Bihain, 'Une vie arménienne de saint Cyrille de Jérusalem,' *Le Muséon*, 76 (1963) pp. 319-48.

38. *Book of Letters*, pp. 407-12. For a critical edition based on other manuscripts see N. Akinean, *T'uli' Makaray B. Erusalemi hayrapeti ar Vrt'anēs episkoposapet Siwnēats yalags kargats ekeletswoy* (Vienna, 1930). English translation in F.C. Conybeare, *The Key of Truth* (Oxford, 1898) pp. 178-85.

39. P'awstos Buzand, *Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'* (Venice, 1933) III, 3, etc.; Moses Khorenatsi, III.5.

40. *Kanonagirk' Hayots*, ed. V. Hakobyan, II (Erevan, 1971) pp. 216-229.

41. Anania of Shirak according to Conybeare, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-86; Anania of Halbat according to Akinean, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-84.

42. For a resume of the contents of one recension of this catena see R.W. Thomson, 'The Shorter Recension of the Root of Faith,' *Revue des études arméniennes*, N.S. 5 (1968) pp. 249-60. Cf. also *idem*, 'Quotations from Athanasius in the Root of Faith,' *Armenian and Biblical Studies*, ed. M.E. Stone (Jerusalem, 1976) pp. 182-203.

43. See G. Garitte, *La Narratio de Rebus Armeniae*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 132, Subsidia, 4 (Louvain, 1952) pp. 210-13.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 243-44.

45. Armenian text in K. Tēr-Mkrch'ean, 'Erusalemi Yovhannēs episkoposi t'ukē,' *Ararat*, 29 (1896) pp. 214-15, 252-56. Translation in A. Vardanian, 'Des Johannes von Jerusalem Brief an den albanischen Katholikos Abas,' *Oriens Christianus*, N.S. 2 (1912) pp. 64-79.

46. For the Syrian Julianists and the council of Dvin in 555 see R.W. Thomson, 'An Armenian List of Heresies,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S. 16 (1965) pp. 358-67.

47. *Book of Letters*, pp. 81-84; and Moses Daskhurantsi, II.7.

48. Garitte, *op. cit.*, p. 206. For various accounts of John II's years in Constantinople see N.G. Garsoian, 'Le rôle de l'hérarchie chrétienne dans les rapports diplomatiques entre Byzance et les Sassanides,' *Revue des études arméniennes*, N.S. 10 (1973/74) p. 136, n. 73.

49. Sebēos, ch. 46.

50. *Book of Letters*, p. 123. The same quotation is used twice by Abraham in letters to the Georgian Kiwriion; *ibid.*, pp. 176, 183.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

53. On these events see N. Akinean, *Kiwriion Kat'olikos Vrats. Patmut'iwn hay-vrakan yaraberut' eamts edt'nerord daru māj* (Vienna, 1910).

54. *Book of Letters*, p. 325. For Bartholomew see M. van Esbroeck, 'Chronique arménienne,' *Analecta Bollandiana*, 80 (1962) pp. 425-29.

55. For the colophon see Yovsēp'ean, *op. cit.*, col. 81-82. For the translation see P. Peeters, 'La version ibéro-arménienne de l'autobiographie de Denys l'Aréopagite,' *Analecta Bollandiana*, 39 (1921) pp. 277-313. For the armenian text see N. Akinean, *Niwt'er hay ukayabanut'ean hamar* (Vienna, 1914) pp. 35-42.

56. R.W. Thomson, 'The Armenian Version of Ps. Dionysius Areopagita,' *Acta jullandica*, 56 (1982) pp. 115-24.

57. I. Abuladze, *K'art'lis Tskhovrebis dzveli somkhuri t'argmani*, (Tbilisi, 1953).
58. R.W. Thomson, 'Architectural Symbolism in Classical Armenian Literature,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S. 30 (1979) pp. 102-14.
59. Thomas, III.29, pp. 254-55 of the Armenian text.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 251-57.
61. Continuator to Thomas, pp. 293-99. But see p. 229 of Thomas.
62. Thomas, III.29, pp. 252-53.
63. N. Thierry, 'Survivance d'une iconographie palestinienne de la Pentecôte au Vaspourakan,' *Atti del primo Simposio internazionale di arte armena* (Venice, 1978) pp. 709-22. For a general study of Gagik's church on Aht'amar see S. Der Nersessian, *Aht'amar, Church of the Holy Cross*, Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies, 1 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965).
64. Labubna, p.45.
65. Moses Khorenatsi, II.34. For Moses' date see the Introduction to R.W. Thomson, *Moses Khorenats'i*.
66. Moses, I.22, denies that the Bagratids descend from Hayk, opposing the genealogy in the *Primary History*. This latter is a short text found at the beginning of the *History* of Sebēos, but having no relationship to it. See p. 51 of Abgaryan's edition for the ancestors of Bagarat. English translation of the *Primary History* in R.W. Thomson, *Moses Khorenats'i*, Appendix, pp. 357-63.
67. Moses, II.9, 14.
68. Moses, II.33.
69. Moses, II.29.
70. Thomas, I.6, pp. 47-49 of the Armenian text; cf. Moses Khorenatsi, II.35.
71. Thomas, I.5, p. 40.
72. This is especially emphasized in the *Teaching*, # 685-98. But cf. the historical section, # 16, 249.
73. P'awstos Buzand, III.5-6.
74. See the discussion in R.W. Thomson, *Elishē, History of Vardan and the Armenian War*, Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies, 5 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1982) pp. 10-16.
75. R.W. Thomson, 'The Maccabees in early Armenian Historiography,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S. 26 (1975) pp. 329-41.
76. The idea is central to Arshak's soliloquy on leaving his patrimonial Ayrarat, Lazar, I.6-8.
77. Moses, I.6, 19; II.75; III.1
78. This parallel was brought out earlier by C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Washington, D.C., 1963) p. 332.
79. For a discussion of Moses' use of Josephus see R.W. Thomson, *Moses Khorenats'i*, pp. 25-28, 56-58.
80. Moses, I.3; Josephus, *Wars*, I.1.3.
81. Cf. Lazar, p. 4. Armenian scholars continued to visit Constantinople in search of new texts over succeeding generations, at least through the eleventh century.

Bibliographical Addenda to Robert W. Thomson's article *Jerusalem and Armenia*

Since the appearance of this article (1983), many texts and studies referenced by the author have become available online at Internet Archive. The list below follows the order of their mention in the article's footnotes:

[Two Studies on Muhammad and Islam in Armenian Literature](#), by Robert Thomson, in 46 bookmarked and searchable pdf pages. The download contains: "Muhammad and the Origin of Islam in Armenian Literary Tradition," in 32 pdf pages, from *Armenian Studies in Memoriam Haig Berberian*, Dickran Kouymjian, editor (Lisbon, 1986), pp. 829-858; and "Armenian Variations on the Bahira Legend," from *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 3/4, Part 2. *Eucharisterion: Essays presented to Omeljan Pritsak on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students* (1979-1980), pp. 884-895, in 13 pdf pages. Additionally, the document has links to other resources at Internet Archive.

[Pseudo-Shapuh Bagratuni \[The Anonymous Story-Teller\]](#), by Robert W. Thomson, from *Revue des études arméniennes* 21(1988-1989), pp. 171-232, in 63 pdf pages. Thomson's translation and scholarly notes of a manuscript (probably dating from the 12th-14th centuries) which contains folkloric episodes describing 7th-10th century events.

[Մովսես Կաղանկատուացի Պատմութիւն Աղուանից աշխարհի](#) *Movse's Kaghankatuats'i Patmut'wn Aghuanits' ashxarhi* [Movse's Kaghankatuatsi *History of the Land of the Aghuans*] (Erevan, 1983), Varag Arakelyan, editor, in 431 pdf pages. This is the critical edition of the Classical Armenian text attributed to Kaghankatuats'i (also known as Dasxurants'i). The first two books of the three-book *History* seem to date from the 7th-8th centuries. The third book is later. The work is a collection of invaluable documents on the history of the Aghuans, a people inhabiting the lands east of historical Armenia, and known as Atropatene or Arran.

[History of the Aghuans](#), by Movses Dasxurants'i. English translation of the above, by Robert Bedrosian (2010).

[An Armenian Visitor to Jerusalem in the Seventh Century](#), by E. W. Brooks, in 6 pdf pages. This study, which appeared in *English Historical Review* 11(1896) pp. 93-97, was written by the distinguished historian and Syriac scholar E. W. Brooks. The author provides an English translation of, and commentary on, the fascinating chapter 51 in Book Two of Movses Dasxurants'i's *History of the Aghuans*, also known as *History of the Caucasian Albanians*. It is a description of the Aghuanian churches in Jerusalem.

[Պատմութիւն Սեբէոսի](#) *Patmut'wn Sebe'osi* [History of Sebe'os] (Erevan, 1979), G. V. Abgaryan, editor, with an introductory study and scholarly notes, in 442 pdf pages. This is the critical edition of the Classical Armenian text. It is a 7th-century history of events in Armenia, Byzantium, Iran, and other parts of the Middle East in the 6th-7th centuries, including the birth of Islam and the beginning of the Arab invasions.

[Sebeos' History of Armenia](#), English translation of the 1879 Classical Armenian edition of K. Patkanean, by Robert Bedrosian (1985).

[Ագաթանգեղայ Պատմութիւն Հայոց](#) *Agat'angeghay Patmut'wn Hayots'* [Agat'angeghos' *History of the Armenians*] (Tiflis, 1914), in 511 bookmarked pdf pages. This is the Classical Armenian text of a 5th-century source which describes the Christianization of Armenia in the early 4th century. The text is a reprint of what appears in the critical edition of Ejmiatsin/Tiflis, 1909 (G. Ter-Mkrтч'ean and St. Kanayants', editors), minus the critical apparatus. Ghukasean Library series, #15.

[Ղազարայ Փարպեցոյ Պատմութիւն հայոց եւ Թուրք առ Վահան Մամիկոնեան](#) *Ghazaray P'arpets'woy Patmut'wn hayots' ew T'ught' ar' Vahan Mamikonean* [Ghazar P'arpets'i's *History of the Armenians and Letter to Vahan Mamikonean*], in 235 bookmarked pdf pages. This is the critical edition of the Classical Armenian text (Tiflis, 1904), by G. Ter-Mkrтч'ean and St. Malxasean.

[Ghazar P'arpets'i's History of the Armenians](#), English translation of the above edition of the *History*, by Robert Bedrosian (1985).

[Ղերութնա Եդեսացի Թուրք Աբգարու թագաւորի Հայոց եւ քաղոքութիւնը սրբոյն Թադէի առաքելը](#) *Gherubna Edesats'i t'ught' Abgaru t'agawori Hayots' ew k'arozut'wnk' srboyn T'ade'i ar'ak'eloy* [Gherubna of Edessa's *Letter of Abgar, King of the Armenians, and the Doctrine of the Blessed Apostle Thaddeus/Addai*] (Jerusalem, 1868), in 183 pdf pages. A Wikipedia entry ("Jerusalem, 1868"), in 183 pdf pages. A Wikipedia entry ([Abgar V](#)) describes the life and legends of this king of Edessa (died around 40 A.D.), who offered Jesus sanctuary, and received in return a miraculous healing fabric with Jesus' face imprinted on it (called the Mandylinion).

[Մովսիսի Խորենացոյ Պատմութիւն Հայոց](#) *Movsisi Xorenats'woy Patmut'wn Hayots'* [Movse's Xorenats'i's *History of the Armenians*], M. Abeghean, S. Yartut'wnian, and St. Malxaseants', editors (Tiflis, 1913), in 463 pdf pages, bookmarked by book and chapter. This is the critical edition of the Classical Armenian text.

[Moses Khorenats'i, History of the Armenians \[Books One and Two\]](#) translated from Classical Armenian by Robert W. Thomson (London, 1978), in 190 bookmarked and searchable pdf pages. History, myth, and legend are combined in the first two books of this unusual three-book work. Book One describes the earliest period and especially the origins of the noble families. Book Two continues with the important royal dynasties and their deeds, to about A.D. 430.

[Պատմութիւն վարդուց ւ. Մաշտոց վարդապետի](#) [History of the Life of the Blessed Vardapet Mashtots'], [քննութիւն եւ բնագիր \[Study and Text\]](#), by Nerses Akinean/Akinian, in 151 pdf pages. Fifth-century Life of the creator of the Armenian alphabet, Mesrop Mashtots' (355?-440), written by his student, Koriwn. This is a critical edition of the text, which appeared in the journal *Hande's Amso'reay* 63(1949), pp. 171-320.

[Life of Mashtots'](#), translated from Armenian to English by Bedros Norehad (New York, 1964).

[Դասական հայերենը եւ Վիեննական Մխիթարեան դպրոցը](#) *Dasakan hayere'ne" ew Viennakan Mxit'arean dprots'e"* [Classical Armenian and the Viennese Mxitarist School], by Nerses Akinean/Akinian (Vienna, 1932), in 400 pdf pages. *Azgayin matenadaran* series, volume 134.

[Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 1301-1480](#), *A Source for Middle Eastern History*, by Avedis K. Sanjian (Cambridge, MA., 1969), in 470 searchable pdf pages. Colophons are additions to the ends of manuscripts, made by their copyist(s). Some contain invaluable information on local and regional events. Sanjian's translations are selections from the magisterial publications of Levon Khachikyan, and are accompanied by extensive glossaries.

[Գիրք Թղթոց](#) *Girk' T'ght'ots'* [The Book of Letters] (Tiflis, 1901) in Classical Armenian. A collection of documents dating from the 5th-13th centuries concerning theological, Christological and dogmatic matters. Letters to and from heads and senior clerics of the Armenian Apostolic Church and neighboring Churches.

[Փաւստոսի Բուզանդացոյ պատմութիւն հայոց ի չորս դարութիւնս](#) *P'awstosi Buzandats'woy patmut'iwn hayots' i ch'ors dprut'iwns* [P'awstos Buzandats'i's *History of the Armenians*, in four books].

[History of the Armenians](#), by P'awstos Buzand. English translation of the above by Robert Bedrosian (1985).

[Կանոնագիրք հայոց](#) *Kanonagirk' hayots'* [Armenian Book of Canons]. This is the critical edition of the Church canons in two volumes, edited by Vazgen Hakobyan, with extensive introductory studies and scholarly notes. Volume 2 (Erevan, 1971), in 595 pdf pages, contains the more extensive 10th and 11th century redactions. Volume 1a and Volume 1b contain the 8th century redaction of Yovhannes's O'dznets'i.

[La Narratio de rebus Armeniae \[The History of Armenian Matters\]](#), by Gerard Garitte (Louvain, 1952), in 524 searchable and bookmarked pdf pages. This is Garitte's critical edition and study of a Greek text which was written around 700 and describes Armenian Church history (from the Council of Nicaea in 325 until about 700) from the standpoint of an Armenian Chalcedonian. Originally written in Armenian, the text has survived only in a Greek translation. Attached to the document are: Hratch Bartikyan's Modern Armenian translation of the Greek original, and an English translation made from Bartikyan's translation by Robert Bedrosian.

[An Armenian List of Heresies](#), by Robert W. Thomson, from *Journal of Theological Studies, New Series*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (October, 1965), pp. 358-367, in 11 pdf pages. This is a study and English translation of an interesting post 7th-century document known as *Concerning the Number of Heretics in the World*.

[Կիւրիոն Կաթողիկոս վրաց](#) *Kiwriion kat'oghikos vrats'* [Kiwriion, Kat'oghikos of the Georgians], by Nerses Akinean/Akinian (Vienna, 1910), in 353 pdf pages. Study of the split between the Armenian and Georgian churches in the seventh century. *Azgayin matenadaran* series, volume 60.

[Քարթլիս Ցխովրեբայի կամ Վրաց պատմության հին հայերեն թարգմանությունը](#) *K'art'lis Ts'xovreba'i kam Vrats' patmut'yan hin hayeren t'argmanut'yune"* [The Old Armenian Translation of K'art'lis Ts'xovreba or the History of Georgia], by I. Abuladze, from *Banber Matenadaran*, volume 1 (1941), pp. 31-40, in 12 pdf pages. This is an Armenian translation of the article.

[Aght'amar, Church of the Holy Cross](#), by Sirarpie Der Nersessian (Cambridge, Mass, 1965), in 132 searchable and bookmarked pdf pages, with numerous plates.

[The Primary History of Armenia](#). Originally published as the first chapters of Sebeos, this short work dates from the 5-7th centuries and contains valuable mythological material. English translation by Robert Bedrosian (2004).

[Studies by Cyril Toumanoff at Internet Archive](#). This is a clickable index for some of Internet Archive's resources. A Wikipedia entry ([Cyril Toumanoff](#)) describes the life and enduring achievements of Toumanoff, who was a renowned specialist in Armenian, Georgian, and Byzantine history and genealogy.

[Studies by Robert W. Thomson](#), at Internet Archive.

Additional:

[Armenian Church Resources \(5th-19th Centuries\) at Internet Archive](#), in 27 pdf pages. This file is a clickable index for some of Internet Archive's resources. Includes Apostolic, Roman Catholic, and Protestant confessions, as well as catalogs, philosophical, patristic, and theological materials. References to Jerusalem and the Armenians, in fact and in legend, appear throughout.